4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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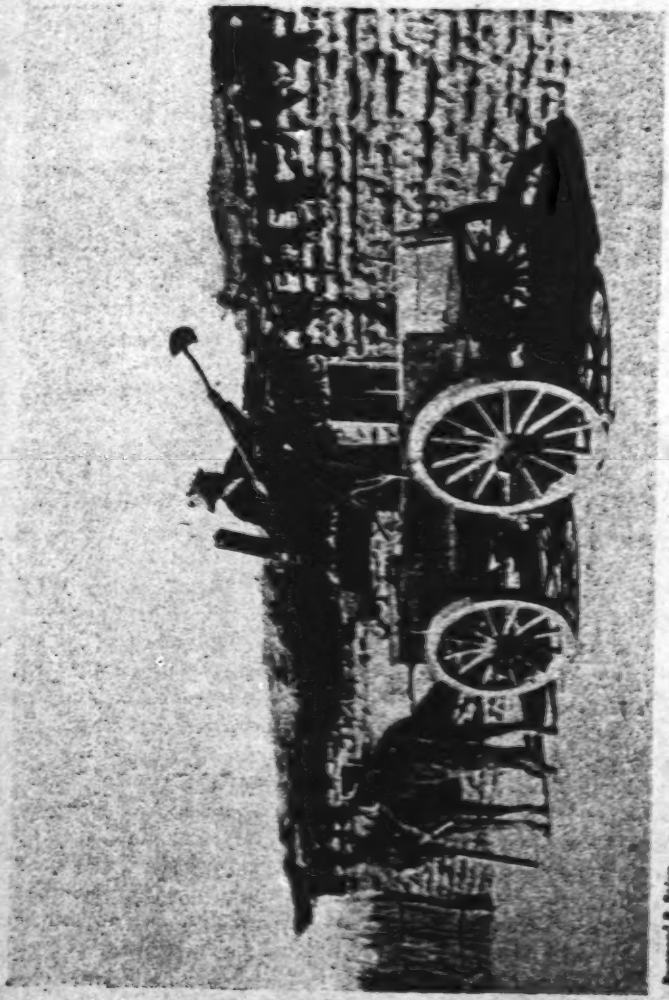
PLATE VII



REPAIRING THE DIRT ROOF

[p. 43]

THE VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO

By Julian Hayden

796 In November, 1936, a dance, marking the end of a four year period, and apparently combining a harvest ceremony with a rain dance and possibly a commemoration of the sacrifice of the children, was held at old Santa Rosa, Papagueria. The dance, scheduled for 1935, but for some reason deferred till 1936, began November 1 at old Santa Rosa and continued there for ten days. On November 11 a ceremony was held at the shrine of the children, west of old Santa Rosa. A second ten day dance began there on the twelfth, reaching its climax and its end on Saturday, November 21. The following is an eye-witness account of events taking
114 place from twelve noon Friday, the 20th, to the end at four PM, Saturday, November 21.

Our party, composed of Charlie R. Steen, Junior Naturalist, Southwestern Monuments, Isabelle Pendleton and Julian D. Hayden, of Pueblo Grande, Phoenix, Arizona, reached Anegam, a large Papago village about two miles north of new Santa Rosa, at twelve noon on Friday. Stopping on the south border of the village, we heard singing and jangling of
● [493] bells in the brush nearby, and saw wagonloads of Papagoes in holiday dress driving into the brush in the direction of the singing. A passing vaquero told us that it was permitted for white men to witness the dancing, so we followed a trail through the mesquite into a clearing, in which stood a dozen or more wagons, each with its family sitting in it or standing nearby.

796 In the clearing was a circular enclosure of tall arrowweeds, about
[417] ten feet in diameter, with an opening on the east side. A group of eight masked and costumed men was dancing in front of this enclosure, attended by a line of thirteen male singers, in work clothes, each man or boy with the half of a gourd tied over his face. Within the enclosure were several old men, also in work clothes, who apparently supervised the distribution of the articles carried by the members of the chorus. These, with an old man outside, seemed also to direct the dancing, correcting steps and gestures.

COSTUMES

796 Since the costumes of the masked dancers were the same, except for
792 minor individual variations, as those worn on Saturday, they are described
531 now. All wore great headdresses of turkey tail feathers, arranged in a
[231] clump tied to the top of the masks. Long feathers, one on either side of the clump, made by tying two or more feathers end to end, with white and in some cases red downy plumes tied to the upper ends, stood erect and waving above the headdress proper. The sack-like masks of deerskin or canvas had small eyeholes and a mouthhole, reached down over the shoulders, and had deeply fringed lower borders. The faces of these

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

walls about eight feet in height, had an entrance in the centre of the east side, and was oriented so that the sides lay NxS, ExW, respectively. This enclosure was about 30' along each side. Directly west of this and probably fifty feet away was a lean-to open to the east and west, measuring perhaps 12' across the entrance, and 10' deep. Between this and the enclosure was the dance ground proper, about which the chorus marched in a circle about 30' in diameter, as described below. 796 417 [343]

In front of the entrance to the enclosure, distant 30' or so, was a great pile of mesquite logs. About three P.M. small groups of gaily dressed women and girls, one group from the Anegam villagers and one from the old Santa Rosa, ran to the pile of wood. Each woman took up a piece and ran to the enclosure and left it, running out and making a complete circuit of the enclosure before running off the dance ground to her own people. This was done to the accompaniment of much laughter and gaiety among the crowds of women and spectators. Later, just before four P.M., and the beginning of the dance, after the new Santa Rosa dancers had arrived, this was repeated. 796

Meanwhile, many wagons had arrived, ranging in a great crescent about the west side of the dance ground, with the lean-to as center. School busses full of children from Sells Day Schools drove up, and several truck and trailer loads of Papago cotton pickers, brought in by white men from the direction of Casa Grande. [493]

At four P.M. the new Santa Rosa dancers and chorus, who had arrived shortly before, drew up in front of the enclosure, where they were joined by the local dancers and chorus. The Anegam group moved up to within 30 yards or so and halted. A crowd of men, mostly young men and a few boys, assembled, all with bull roarers, and raised a tremendous noise. The combined groups of dancers then trotted and ran around the enclosure several times, accompanied by the wielders of the bull roarers as well as by men and boys who ran alongside, laughing and shouting. The dancers clowned all through this, shaking their bells and cutting up in comical fashion. [522]

The choruses of the two groups dashed inside the enclosure, without running around it, carrying their equipment, and remained inside. The Anegam group joined in after the others had made several circuits, the chorus going directly inside the enclosure.

Then, the choruses inside, the dancers outside, singing began within. It seemed the choruses remained separate inside the enclosure, one in the SE quarter, one in the NE, and one in the NW quadrant. These choruses sang the same song as that sung at Anegam, but not in unison, each chorus singing independently of the others. The masked dancers outside stationed themselves in groups, one outside each corner within which a chorus was singing, and kept time, shuffling and stamping and jumping, to the chorus opposite which they were stationed. Dancers [533] 796 534

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

WHERE THE DESERT PEOPLE WORK

464 466 When they leave their reservations to seek farm work the Desert People don't strike out blindly to hunt work. The work seeks them. Farmers or their foremen or contractors drive onto the reserves seeking labor, and after recruiting in the scattered villages, haul the Papagos to their labor camps. About 85% of the Papago farm laborers were hauled from their homes to the camps where they stayed for the 1950 picking season.[1] Only a small number---about 15%--travel to the labor camps in their own cars.[2]

[493]

The Desert People do not hire out to the first labor recruiter who happens along. They have definite preferences among employers, based on their experience in past years. The Papago laborers of 1950 had already worked in the cotton harvest an average of 4 years.[3] About two-thirds of the Papago hands had worked before the 1950 season, and went to the particular farm where they worked because they'd been there before and were satisfied with it. About a sixth of them were introduced to the farm where they worked in 1950 by one or another of their relatives. Only about a sixth just happened to choose their location.[4]

464 Over 90% of the farmers the Desert People work for are Anglo-Americans. But a few are themselves members of minority groups---Chinese-Americans in Pima county and (Asiatic) Indian-Americans in Pinal county. These farmers are almost all large-scale operators, and they hire about twice as many Papagos proportionately as Anglo-American farmers. Although they form less than 10% of the farmers hiring Papagos, they hire over 20% of the Papago labor force.[5]

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[1] of 20 giving information, 17 were hauled.
[2] 3 of 20 giving information.
[3] Based on the work-experience of 26 persons.
[4] Based on questioning 11 families specifically, and impressions gained in conversation with many others.
[5] Of the 52 farmers studied who hire Papagos, 47 are Anglo-Americans, 3 Indian-Americans, 2 Chinese-Americans. Of 41 Papagos working for them, 32 worked for Anglos, 4 for Indians, 5 for Chinese.

433 flooding and grasshoppers is won. This subsistence
24 scale, risky enterprise cannot long compete against
[461] the surplus-over-subsistence earned in the cotton fields.

The crops Desert People working in the 1950 cotton harvest did plant on the reserves were not even on a subsistence scale. The few beans or squash, the patch of melons they actually planted were no more than a supplement at most.

464 Clearly an important reason Papagos sell their la-
471 bor is that a high proportion do not even have flood
423 farms where they could try to farm if they wished to. Probably nearly half the Desert People picking cotton in 1950 had no fields.[1]

233 For Papagos who cannot farm, there is still a
433 possibility of raising cattle. However, xerophytic
[139] desert vegetation is not particularly well suited to
[132] fattening cattle--thorns don't make fat. Rainfall on reserve lands is very scanty, and good stands of grass are small and undependable.

231 Among Papago cotton pickers of 1950, nearly half
422 the families owned cattle.[2] However, some of them actually had only 1 cow, and the average number of head owned by each family was only a dozen.[3]

One difficulty for Papago cattlemen is that horses are kept by most families, taking up range that could support more beef animals. These horses are not especially good stock--no one raises horses for export.
[492] But the Desert People are still mainly in the pre-
[493] automotive age of transportation. If they don't walk, they generally must ride horseback or in a wagon pulled by horses. Over three-fourths of Papago cotton pickers in 1950 owned horses.[4] And each of these families kept
[691] 6 or 7 horses.[5] If it were not for an ordinance of the
[646] Papago Tribal Council restricting each family to not more than 10 head of horses, horse population of the reserved lands would undoubtedly be much higher.

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[1] 139 families gave information. 80 had their own fields, or 51%. (Only 2 were in irrigated projects, 8%) Fathers of 3 younger men had flood fields, 8%. So 41% had no flood fields in their extended family.
[2] 119 families of 40 questions owned cattle, 47½%.
[3] 98 families giving information owned 96 head, averaging 12 per family.
[4] 131 families of 40 questioned owned horses, 77½%.
[5] 121 families giving data owned 136, averaging 6.6 each.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

000 prove. In 5 to 10 years, skilled farm laborers will be living in very comfortable quarters indeed.

369 484 Inevitably, in any rural farm area, certain problems remain even when farm housing is adequate or above standard. Farms are relatively isolated from towns with their opportunities for organized recreation, and their churches and doctors and hospitals. This isolation is little problem for the comparatively well to do cotton [493] grower with his pickups and Buicks. But for the automobile-less majority of the Desert People working on farms all the time, such isolation is serious. They are cut off from other Papagos, from efficient shopping, medical care, recreation, and religious rites. Probably car ownership will increase among this group of Papagos, but their wage scale will not be high enough to enable them to solve their difficulties quickly.

000 Dr. Laura Thompson, who quarterbacked the Indian Personality Studies of the early 1940's (which studied the Papago among other tribes), has called for administrative action designed to meet needs both of stay-at-home Desert People and farm labor migrants.

> "It is recommended, therefore, that if improvement of the welfare of the Papago be the aim, the focus of administrative and tribal planning may well be to foster the new, constructive dual life pattern with its reservation base in cooperative family life with traditionally agricultural roots and herding economy counterbalancing the recently developed migratory labor cycle. This would involve a two-sided program pointed toward improving and developing the reservation base and conditions on one hand, and toward meeting the specific problems of Papago migratory workers on the other.[1]

364 751 944 000 One of the very specific problems of migratory workers among the Desert People--as well as the non-migrants--is health. There is no doubt that Papagos are exposed to deplorable health menaces in labor camps. But at the same time there is no doubt that they do not know how to protect themselves adequately. This lack of

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 72.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

311 In the spring of 1890 the land was allotted to the Indians in severalty, and it may now be divided as to quality as follows:

	Acres.
Land that is farmed	500
Land that is not now farmed on account of deficient water supply	1,500
Timbered land allotted	5,000
Mesa land, suitable for pasturage, allotted	20,000
Mountain land, including desert land that can be pastured 2 months in the year	30,000

The 1,500 acres not farmed on account of deficient water supply may be farmed when a better and more economical mode of irrigation is adopted than that now practised by the Indians. The 5,000 acres of timbered land is what is usually called mesquite land, from which the Papagos procure their fuel and sell considerable quantities from year to year. The 30,000 acres of mountain land is next to worthless.

There are 94 heads of families on the reservation, and a little more than 5 acres of farming land (land that is farmed) are allotted to each head of a family. The 500 acres of allotted land are surveyed and staked out. The area of land cultivated is diminished, and no progress is being made in methods of farming. Most of their income seemed to be obtained from the sale of wood and hay cut on the reservation.

[1434]

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS RAISED AND STOCK OWNED BY INDIANS FOR 1889-1890.

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PRODUCTS, STOCK, AND LAND.	Number.	Value.
Total value of agricultural products		$5,170
Bushels of barley	4,000	2,000
Bushels of corn	1,000	1,000
Bushels of vegetables	1,000	1,000
Melons	200	20
Pumpkins	1,000	100
Tons of hay cut	100	1,000
231 Total value of live stock		4,250
Horses owned by Indians	700	3,500
Cattle owned by Indians	150	1,500
Domestic fowls owned by Indians	100	50
Acres under fence	14,000	.....
Pounds made during year (rods)	7,000	.....

342 All of the Papago Indians living on reservations are in a village near San Xavier church. Their dwellings
● 493 are mostly rude adobe, with dirt roofs and few windows, and are almost destitute of furniture except the most
291 primitive. There are only 14 comfortable adobe houses. Many of the Indians own farm wagons, though their
797 farming tools are rude and unserviceable. The men all wear the civilized dress; the women also wear dresses similar to those worn by the whites, but leave off their shoes on ordinary occasions. It is claimed that 230 of the Indians living on the reservation are members of the Catholic church.

STATISTICS OF THE RESERVATION PAPAGOS.

162

Whole number living on the reservation		362
Males	184	
Females	178	
Children under 1 year of age		32
Males	21	
Females	11	
Number married		160
Number over 20 years of age who can read		10
Number who can read and write		10
Number who can use English enough for ordinary conversation		20
Number of children of school age		90

658 797 SCHOOLS.—The Catholic church has provided 2 neat, well-furnished schoolrooms adjoining San Xavier church, which will accommodate about 70 pupils. A school was maintained there during the year 1889 by the Sisters of the order of Saint Joseph, without pecuniary aid from the United States. The average attendance for the year ending June 30, 1890, was about 20. In addition to elementary studies the girls were taught sewing, crocheting, knitting, and minor household duties. A few of them became quite skillful in operating the sewing machine. The great drawback to the prosperity of the school was the irregularity in attendance. The school was again opened in September, 1890.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is clean and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called penole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but such possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and those are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

● 493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, heron, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[356] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

181 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 2 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tecolote to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to

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